

The Archangelos Xorinos, or the Banisher

SMILJKA GABELIĆ

“I wish that thou wouldst command a painter to paint for me the picture of the holy Archangel Michael upon a wooden tablet,” said Lady Euphemia to her husband Aristarchus in Eustathius’ *encomium* on the archangel Michael, “[so that the archangel] may become my guardian and deliver me from every evil thought of Satan.”¹ Such faith in the painted image, and in fact in the image itself, as described later in this apocryphal Coptic account, saved Euphemia on the several occasions in which the Devil appeared to her. After the death of Euphemia, the icon of the archangel Michael mysteriously appeared in the apse of the nearby church of the Archangels. We are told, at the end of the story, that this image of Michael, which was painted on an olive wood tablet, would blossom from its corners on the archangel’s feast days and produce fruit. The fruit and leaves were curative, and various sick people were said to have been healed there, including a woman with a tumor who ate of the fruit of the picture, and a man who suffered headaches before placing one of the leaves upon his head.

The attribution of medicinal power to an icon is certainly not uncommon in Byzantium, nor is the belief in its role as a protector of believers, as shown in the passage above. Intercession, understood both as intervention and defense, was the main function of any Byzantine icon.² However, among the vast number of surviving Byzantine icons, it is the

This study was delivered as a paper at the twentieth Byzantine Studies Conference held at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, in October 1994. I would like to thank my colleague Charles Barber for his assistance with the translation of this final version.

¹The *encomium* by Eustathius, a historically unidentified “bishop of the island Trake,” is dated to the early seventh century: *Saint Michael the Archangel: Three Encomiums by Theodosius, Archbishop of Alexandria, Severus, Patriarch of Antioch, and Eustathius, Bishop of Trake*, ed. E. A. Wallis Budge (London, 1894), 74–108, with quoted passages on 78 and 104. Trake supposedly refers to a district around the Black Sea, since it is described by the author of the legend as the place where John Chrysostomos was banished and died. Aristarchus was a general in the service of the western emperor Honorius (384–423): *ibid.*, xxvii. The same legend, probably translated from another manuscript, is published by E. Amélineau, *Contes et romans de l’Égypte chrétienne*, I (Paris, 1888), 21–48, with Euphemia’s wish on 23 and 46. Here “saint Anastase, évêque de l’île de Turquie,” is denoted as the legend’s author.

²The theory of the icon is a much discussed topic in the literature. For the meaning of icons, cf. a selection of texts translated by C. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire, 312–1453* (Toronto, 1986), 169–77, and D. J. Sahas, *Icon and Logos: Sources in Eighth-Century Iconoclasm* (Toronto, 1986), esp. 8–9, 216A and 216C–E, *passim*. As the basic study on the function of religious images and on the belief in the magic power of images and their prophylactic use by individuals (which was attested already in the fifth century, and flourished in the second half of the sixth and seventh centuries), see E. Kitzinger, “The Cult of Images in the Age before Iconoclasm,” *DOP* 8 (1954), 83–150, reprinted in *The Art of Byzantium and the Medieval West: Selected Studies*, ed. W. E. Kleinbauer (Bloomington, Ind., 1976), 90–156, esp. 100–109 and 146–47, *passim*. About the per-

exception when the depicted saint-protector is inscribed as an “exorcist”; that is, the one who—being capable of defending—literally “exiles” (the evil). We have observed such an epithet on a post-Byzantine icon of the archangel Gabriel from Cyprus. In its essence, this caption expresses the function of any painted saint, which is to mediate and to protect from harm.

The icon of the archangel Gabriel Xorinos—ὁ Ἀρχάγγελος Γαβριὴλ ὁ Ξορινός—was previously located in the church of the Virgin Chrysaliniotissa in Nicosia (Fig. 1). In addition to its caption, the shape and dimensions of this icon are also unusual—1.90 m high, 1.86 m wide. The icon is published in a book dedicated to the icons of this island written in 1937 by Tamara and David Talbot Rice, with a contribution by Rupert Gunnis.³ The archangel is presented half-length and full-face, holding a staff with the inscribed Trisagion ΑΓΙΟΣ ΑΓΙΟΣ ΑΓΙΟΣ in his right hand, and a sphere with Christ’s bust in the other. According to the description in Talbot Rice’s book, the archangel’s dress is a dark blue-green and has ochre bands on the sleeves. His cloak is red with floral applications on the shoulders. A dark ochre *loros* is crossed over the chest and is decorated with green medallions bearing red cherubim. We do not know where this icon is today.

Talbot Rice has already pointed to the large scale of this icon, as well as to its almost square form. The proposed dating of the icon to the sixteenth century, generally acceptable, can be extended to the second half of the previous century, too.⁴ However, the inscription “Xorinos”—Banisher or Exiler—written between the head and the wings of the archangel Gabriel, has not been explained. Before turning to the issue of the inscription, I will first expand upon the discussion of the form of the icon.

Because of its enlarged dimensions, this icon can be said to belong to the group of Cypriot “gigantic” icons. From the same church, the Virgin Chrysaliniotissa, come three well-known large rectangular icons: Christ with Archangels and the Donors Michael, Euphemia, and Maria (from 1356); Saint Eleutherios with Three Deceased Persons (end of the fourteenth century); and St. Paraskevi with a Kneeling Donor (ca. 1400).⁵ These icons are kept in the Byzantine Museum (Phaneromeni Collection) in Nicosia.⁶ In 1934 a collection of icons, including all of those mentioned above, was installed in a monastic

ceived roles of icons in Byzantium, see R. Cormack, “Miraculous Icons and Their Power,” *Arte cristiana* 76 (1988), 55–60. On the social function of images, see A. Kazhdan and H. Maguire, “Byzantine Hagiographical Texts as Sources on Art,” *DOP* 45 (1991), 1–22, esp. 14–15. On the intercessory power of holy images and their ability to protect from harm, as recorded in certain saint’s *vitae*, see, most recently, L. Brubaker, “The Sacred Image,” in *The Sacred Image, East and West*, ed. R. Ousterhout and L. Brubaker (Urbana-Chicago, 1994), 6–8 (with further bibliography). An interesting example of the invocation of saints as “active helpers,” specifying their visualization as images, is found in the dedicatory poem to Emperor Basil II in his *menologion*, Bibl. Marciana gr. 17: N. P. Ševčenko, “The Walters ‘Imperial’ Menologion,” *JWalt* 51 (1993), 60. For the concept of the intercession of icons after Iconoclasm, see H. Maguire, “Magic and the Christian Image,” in *Byzantine Magic*, ed. H. Maguire (Washington, D.C., 1995), 51–71, esp. 66–69, with important remarks on the difference between the magical and the Christian use of images.

³D. Talbot Rice, *The Icons of Cyprus* (London, 1937), 235, no. 73.

⁴The rendering of the facial features of the archangel, and the wide setting in general, bring to mind the paintings in the churches in Platanistasa, Palaeochorio, and Pedoullas that date from the second half of the fifteenth to the middle of the sixteenth centuries. Cf. A. Stylianou and J. A. Stylianou, *The Painted Churches of Cyprus* (London, 1985), 186, 256, 331, esp. figs. 168 and 202.

⁵*Ibid.*, 195–97, nos. 6–8; A. Papageorghiou, *Masterpieces of the Byzantine Art of Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1965), 6, pls. XLV–XLVI; *idem*, *Icones de Chypre* (Geneva, 1969), 62, pl. 38.

⁶A. Papageorghiou, *Byzantine Museum*, a catalogue (Nicosia, 1983), 14, nos. 46–48, figs. 7–9.

building next to the church of the Virgin Chrysaliniotissa.⁷ The famous, large icon of St. Mamas riding a lion—198 × 207 cm—also came from this church, as did that of the Virgin Kamariotissa, both from around 1500 and both with donors' portraits.⁸ Extremely large icons can also be found elsewhere in Cyprus. In the Troodos, the church of Panagia Katholiki has an icon of St. Mamas on a lion, from the beginning of the sixteenth century.⁹ In Paphos, there is a large icon of St. George the Perivolatis, dating from the same century, that is today kept in the Byzantine Museum there (Fig. 2).¹⁰ The question is Where were the large and squarish icons originally located within the church?

The majority of these icons do not have the usual form of a vertical rectangle and their top edge is not horizontal, but is in the shape of a four-centered arch.¹¹ This same shape is also to be found in the fresco decoration of Cypriot churches. For example, the fresco of St. George on a horse and flanked by scenes from his life, depicted on the west wall of the south aisle of the church of the Holy Cross in Pelendri, also has an upper portion that is a pointed arch. Among frescoes of archangels, there are a number of similar examples, usually of extra-large dimensions. In the church of St. Demetrianus in Dali (1317), for instance, such a fresco appears in the niche on the north wall (Fig. 3), and in the church of the Transfiguration in Palaeochorio (beginning of the sixteenth century) in the recess on the north wall.¹² (Fig. 4) From the identity of the content, scale, and shape of both the frescoes and the icons, we can conclude that the large-scale icons from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were intended to be placed over existing frescoes of the same subject, dimension, and form. We may speculate that such a practice was the result of a new donor's activity and that, for all intents, it represents an instance of particular devotion. There are surviving instances of such a practice in two post-Byzantine churches in Cyprus—the archangel Michael in Pyla and Kokkinotrimithia.¹³ In the niches in the north wall in Pyla and in the south wall in Kokkinotrimithia, we find that an older fresco of the archangel has been covered by an icon with an identical archangel's figure of a later date.

Thus we may presume that the large icon of the archangel Gabriel Xorinos once covered a fresco of the archangel in a church. It is possible that the church bore the same epithet, that of the Xorinos. We have no way of knowing, however, whether the assumed fresco of the archangel carried the same epithet "the Exiler." This epithet, in any case, is the product of a tradition much older than this rather late, Cypriot icon. It derives from the magical practice of exiling one's enemy, which was ascribed to a local Cypriot "divinity" known either as Agios Georgios Xorinos or as Archangelos Xorinos.

⁷R. Gunnis, *Historic Cyprus* (repr. Nicosia, 1973), 64–66.

⁸*Ibid.*, 66; Talbot Rice, *Icons of Cyprus*, 237–38, no. 78 (St. Mamas), and 230–31, no. 64 (Virgin Kamariotissa); Papageorgiou, *Byzantine Museum*, 15, nos. 8, 29; *idem*, *Icones de Chypre*, 29, 68, fig. 13.

⁹Stylianou and Stylianou, *Painted Churches of Cyprus*, 233, fig. 133.

¹⁰*Byzantine Museum*, a catalogue (Paphos, 1987), without pagination.

¹¹Cf. Talbot Rice, *Icons of Cyprus*, nos. 64, 78, 81, and 149. Talbot Rice called these icons of considerable size "poster icons," and thought that they were set up in the churches and cloisters as memorials, expressing the spirit of Latin ritual.

¹²Stylianou and Stylianou, *Painted Churches of Cyprus*, 232 (Pelendri), 426 (Dali), and 273 (Palaeochorio).

¹³Short notes on these churches are given by Gunnis, *Historic Cyprus*, 406–7 (the church dedicated to the archangel Michael, the principal church of the village of Pyla, and, as Gunnis wrote, probably of medieval origin) and 276 (the chapel of the archangel Michael, outside the village of "Kokkini Trimithia," was supposedly constructed in the early sixteenth century).

This custom of “exorcism” was recorded almost a century ago in writings on the patron saints of two churches on Cyprus, one in Famagusta, and the other in Pano Lefkara. Camille Enlart and Harry Charles Luke have stated that the so-called Nestorian Church in Famagusta—founded, most probably, in the fourteenth century—was renamed by the Orthodox Ayios Georgios Xorinos, or St. George the Exiler. Luke describes a custom connected with this church: “Whoever would be rid of his enemy has but to drop in the house of the victim a little dust from the floor of the church . . .”¹⁴ Enlart gives the same explanation for the name of the church of St. George the Exiler in Famagusta. He also provides a description of the church, which was already in ruinous condition but with some paintings preserved. In its southern aisle, among other figures of the saints, a colossal (“over-life-size”) picture of the archangel Michael—qualified as “Byzantine”—was depicted. These paintings were later destroyed.¹⁵

As for the church in Pano Lefkara that was dedicated to St. George Xorinos, Rupert Gunnis explains the origin of its name as follows: “Any person who has a grudge against another goes into the church and collects a little dust from the floor: this is then taken away, placed in a small rag and cast into the sea in the belief that the person will thus exile his enemy from the island.”¹⁶ Concerning the same church in (Pano) Lefkara, there is an older statement by George Jeffery, who writes that the church, “a mere shed,” was dedicated to George or Archangelos Xorinos. “In this case,” he writes, “it is the Archangel Michael who is supposed to act as exorcist”;¹⁷ he assumes that churches of the Xorinos represented a peculiarity of the Cypriot branch of the Orthodox Church, and he provides a description of the ceremony—“supposed by a simple minded Cypriot to have the desired effect of exiling his enemy from the island”—saying that a package containing dust from the church floor was mixed with some part of the clothing of the object of the spell and was then brought to the shore and “with certain incantations” cast into the sea.¹⁸

The epithet the Banisher or Exiler (“Xorinos”) that is given to the archangel Gabriel on the Cypriot icon derives from the word ἐξορίζω, to exile, or ἐξορκίζω, to exorcise, and is thus understandable in connection with the described custom of the expulsion or ousting (of an enemy, or demon) from a place, which is a form of exorcism. It is analogous to the well-known exorcist’s formula “I expel you (Satan)” — Ἐξορκίζω σε (ὦ Σατανᾶς)—which is found on a great number of early Christian amulets and papyri; it appears in Acts 19:13 and on Greek magical plaques, *lamellae*, as well as in various modern *exorkismoi* in the form ὀρκίζω; the epithet obviously belongs to the world of magic and superstition.

¹⁴H. C. Luke, *Anatolica* (London, 1924), 118.

¹⁵C. Enlart, *Gothic Art and the Renaissance in Cyprus* (London, 1987), 280–86; cf. *Chronicle of Makhairas*, ed. by R. M. Dawkins, II (Oxford, 1932), 93; G. Jeffery, *A Description of the Historic Monuments of Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1918), 144–46; Gunnis, *Historic Cyprus*, 99–100; J. C. Goodwin, *An Historical Toponymy of Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1978), 218.

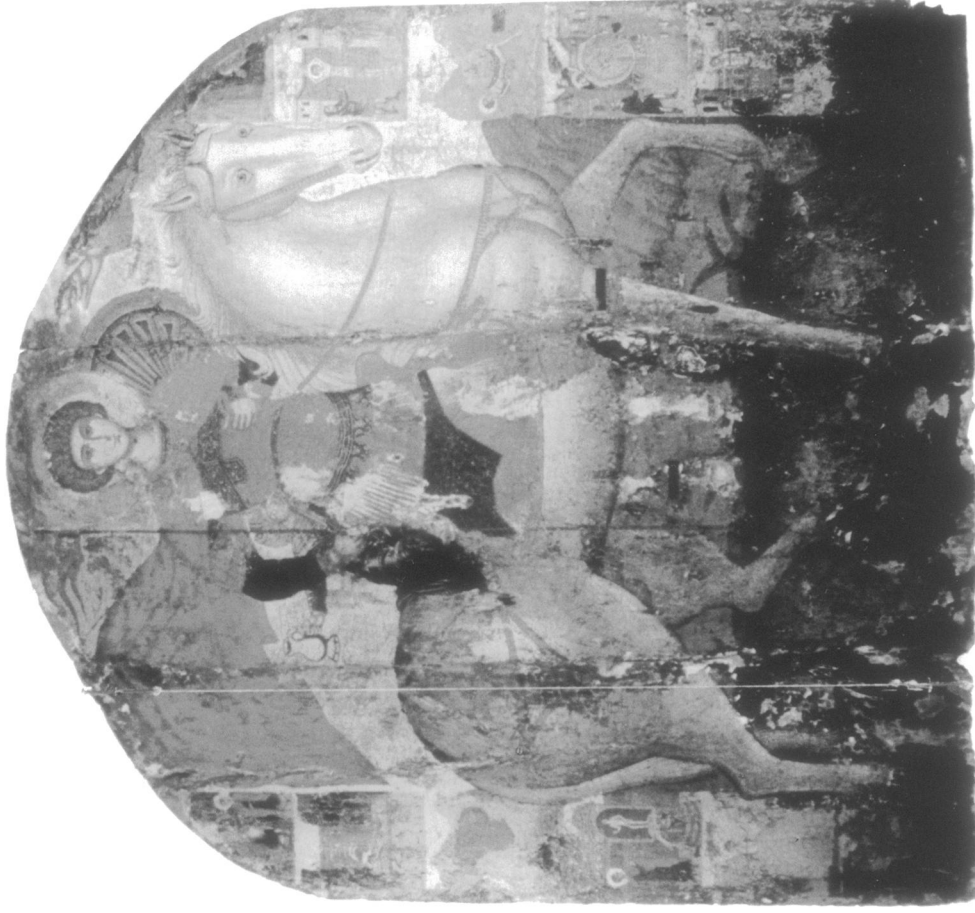
¹⁶Gunnis, *Historic Cyprus*, 321.

¹⁷Jeffery, *Historic Monuments of Cyprus*, 347.

¹⁸Ibid.: “The practice is for anyone who has a grudge against another to go to one of these churches [of the Xorinos] and to make a small paper packet containing some dust from the floor of the building together with any fragment of personal belongings of the obnoxious individual—a shred of his clothing by preference—and, having tied up the packet with certain incantations, to proceed to the seaside and there cast it as far as possible out to sea.” The belief that damage done to a man’s clothing may lead to harm being inflicted upon that person is held in many religions. See W. H. Desmonde, *Magic, Myth, and Money* (New York, 1962), 81.



1 Nicosia, church of the Virgin Chrysaliniotissa. Icon of the archangel Gabriel Xorinos, fifteenth or sixteenth century
(photo: after D. Talbot Rice, *Icons of Cyprus* [London, 1937], no. 73)



2 Paphos, Byzantine Museum. St. George the Perivolatis, sixteenth century
(photo: after *Byzantine Museum*, a catalogue [Paphos, 1987])



3 Dali, church of St. Demetrianus. Archangel's fresco in the niche, 1317



4 Palaeochorio, church of the Transfiguration. The archangel Michael in the niche, beginning of the sixteenth century



5 Mt. Athos, Iviron monastery, Evangelion, cod. 5, fol. 94B. Parable on the king's wedding, fourteenth century (photo: after S. Pelekanides et al., *Οι Θεσσαυροὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὁρους*, II [Athens, 1975], fig. 14)



6 Thessaloniki, St. Demetrios, parecclesion of St. Euthymios. St. Euthymios healing the demoniac, 1303

- 7 Mt. Sinai, St. Catherine's monastery, iconostasis beam. St. Eustratios healing a demoniac, twelfth century (photo: after K. Weitzmann, "Lives of the Five Martyrs of Sebaste," *DOP* 33 [1979], fig. 30)



- 8 Agoriane, church of St. Nicholas. St. Nicholas healing the demoniac, late thirteenth century (photo: after N. P. Ševčenko, *The Life of Saint Nicholas in Byzantine Art* [Turin, 1983], fig. 18.5)

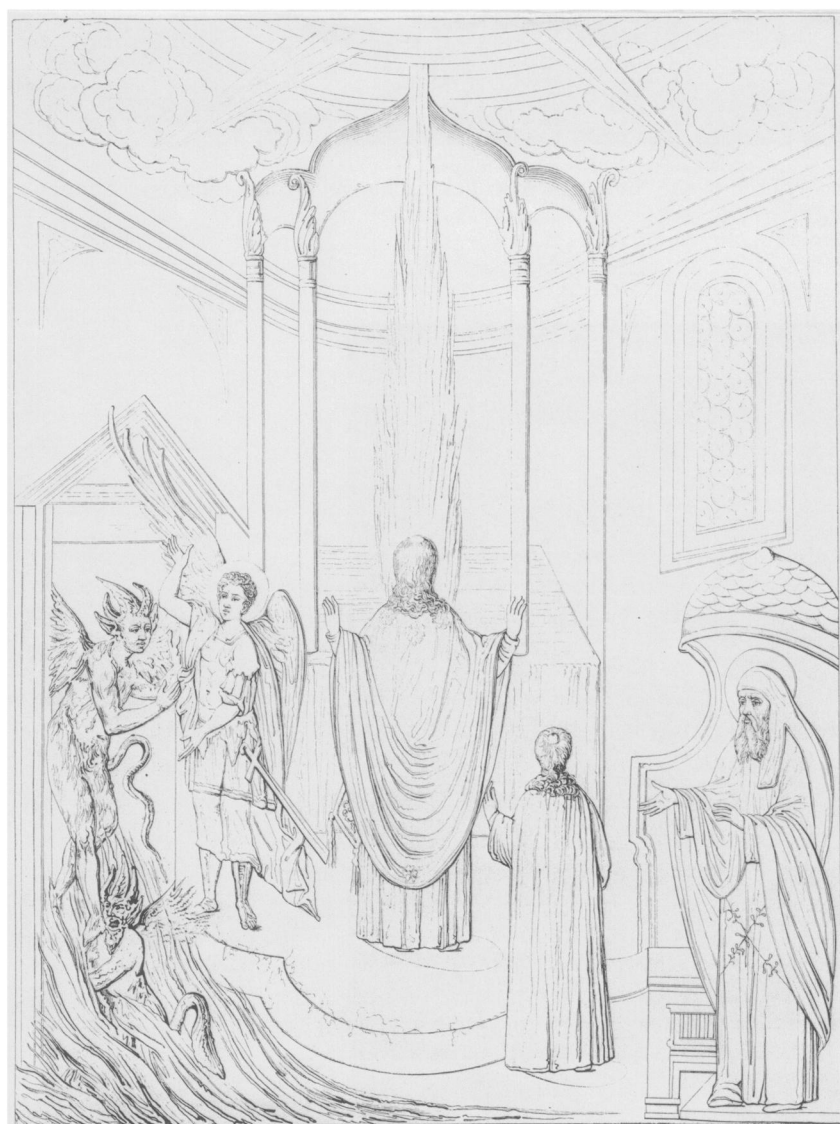
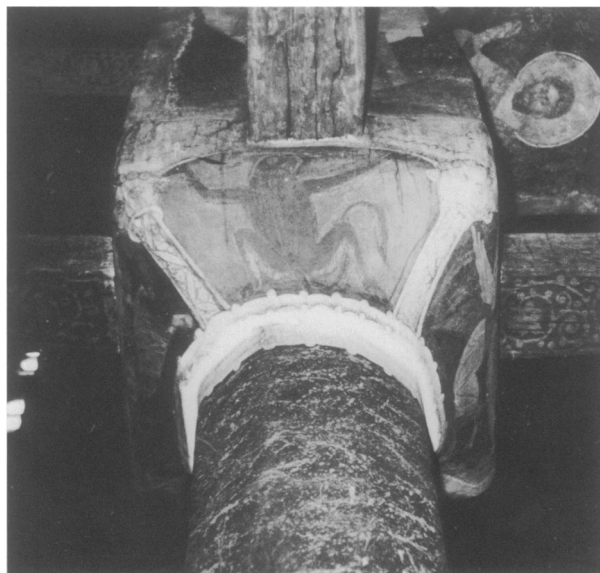


9 Lesnovo, church of the Archangel Michael. Archangel healing the possessed monk Michael, ca. 1346



10 Markov manastir, church of St. Demetrios. Angel painted on the capital of a column, 1376

11 Markov manastir, church of St. Demetrios. A demon painted on the capital of a column, 1376



12 Vat. gr. 2137, fol. 7r. The liturgical service, 1600 (photo: after A. Mai, *Nova patrum bibliotheca* [Rome, 1853], fig. V)

“Exorcizo te, immunde spiritus” (Ἐξορκίζω σε, πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον) is the most common expression employed by exorcists expelling demons from the body of a possessed person.¹⁹ On the icon of the archangel Gabriel, even the Trisagion inscribed on the *labarum* in Gabriel’s hand, and which is also often found on amulets and lintels, could be regarded, at least in part, as representing a prophylactic formula and, on this icon, perhaps is another element of *xorikia* (*prophylacteria*).²⁰ Additionally, the icon could have belonged to the church dedicated to the archangelos Xorinos, and thus the epithet would also have a toponomastic connotation.

Straightforward exorcism was a means of “healing” people believed to be possessed by demons, and hence sick; the use of certain words and actions was believed to lead to the expulsion of the demons.²¹ In Orthodox culture, it was thought that maladies, above all, those of the mind, were a consequence of the Devil’s machinations; thus illness was considered a form of demoniac possession.²² The Devil would conduct his activity, so it was believed, hidden inside a man’s body until he was forced to reveal himself, at the name of the Lord. He could also dwell in various places, such as trees, mountains and the like. During the exorcistic rite, the demon would speak to the practitioner addressing

¹⁹Cf. L. Delatte, *Un office byzantin d'exorcisme (MS de la Lavra du Mont Athos, Θ 20)* (Brussels, 1957), 142. In the New Testament, πνεύματα ἀκάθαρτα is the usual appellation for demons who possess men (Matt. 10:1, 12:43; Mark 1:23 and 26, 3:11; Luke 4:33 and 36, 6:18; Acts 5:16, 8:7). For the commanding language in the New Testament, see R. P. H. Greenfield, *Traditions of Belief in Late Byzantine Demonology* (Amsterdam, 1988), 153. For examples on amulets, see *DACL* 1.2:1795–822. On the common adjuration formula (ἐξ)ορκίζω σε inscribed on *lamellae*, see R. Kotansky, *Greek Magical Amulets: The Inscribed Gold, Silver, Copper and Bronze Lamellae*, I (Opladen, 1994), 267, 281, 384, *passim*. On modern *exorkismoi*, cf. S. D. Hemellos, “Ἐξορκισμοὶ τῆς Γελλοῦς ἐκ χειρογράφων ἐξ Ἀμοργου,” *Ἑπ. Λαογρ. Ἀρχ.* 16 (1964), 40–52, esp. 43 and 45–46; G. K. Spyridakis, “Ἐξορκισμοὶ καὶ μαγικοὶ καταδεσμοὶ ἐκ κρητικῶν χειρογράφων,” *ibid.* 3–4 (1941–42), 60–76.

²⁰On the Trisagion taken as a short invocation, see W. K. Prentice, *Greek and Latin Inscriptions*, pt. 3 of *Publications of an American Archaeological Expedition to Syria, 1899–1900* (New York, 1908), 8–9, and 19–22, for inscriptions as formulae to avert evil. V. Laurent, “Amulettes byzantines et formulaires magiques,” *BZ* 36 (1936), 310, table 2, fig. 3; *DACL* 1.2:1795–822. On the liturgical use of the Trisagion (Isa. 6:3), see J. Danielou, *The Bible and the Liturgy* (Notre Dame, Ind., 1956), 135–36. For examples of archangels holding the *labarum*, see J. Bousquet, “Le Thème des ‘Archanges à l’étendard’ de la Catalogne à l’Italie et à Byzance,” in *Les cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, V (Prades-Codalet, 1974), 20–24.

²¹On exorcism, see *DSP* 4:2000–2004; F. Jos. Dölger, *Der Exorzismus im altchristlichen Taufritual* (Paderborn, 1909); P. de Meester, *Rituale-Benedizionale Byzantino*, II.6 (Rome, 1930), 255–68; *RAC* 7 (Stuttgart, 1950), 58–117; *ODB*, s.v. “exorcism.” The church fathers of the early period declared Christ’s expulsion of the devils (as a result of his victory): *DSP* 4:1197–2000. On the condemnation of magic, divination, and sorcery by church fathers and theologians, see J. B. Russell, *Lucifer: The Devil in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca-London, 1984), 50–51. For the attitude of the fathers of the church toward magic, see also M. W. Dickie, “The Fathers of the Church and the Evil Eye,” in *Byzantine Magic* (as above, note 2), 9–34. For the treatment of magicians and diviners from the fourth to the fourteenth century, see M. T. Fögen, “Balsamon on Magic: From Roman Secular Law to Byzantine Canon Law,” in *Byzantine Magic*, 99–115. On magic in early Christianity, cf. R. Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1989), 36–42; S. Benko, “Early Christian Magical Practices,” in *Society of Biblical Literature, Seminar Papers* 21 (1982), 9–14. On exorcism in the late Byzantine period, see Greenfield, *Late Byzantine Demonology*, esp. 221–22, 263–64, 270–71, and 324–25.

²²Cf. M. Dols, “Insanity in Byzantine and Islamic Medicine,” *Symposium on Byzantine Medicine, DOP* 38 (1984), 135–48; V. Nutton, “From Galen to Alexander, Aspects of Medicine and Medical Practice in Late Antiquity,” *ibid.*, 7. Madness was most often taken to be the equivalent of possession; epilepsy and conditions such as anger and drunkenness were also attributed to demonic possession. On the issue of possession, see Greenfield, *Late Byzantine Demonology*, 81–95, 215–18; on denials of the demonic origins of various sicknesses and diseases, see *ibid.*, 93–94 and 217–18.

him and often take his departure through an act of physical violence.²³ The idea of expelling the demon, as it appears in rites of exorcism, was based on a concept elaborated in a considerable number of New Testament accounts²⁴ and justified by its incorporation into certain official church services, namely, the catechumenate and the liturgy of baptism. During the catechumenate service, the devil would be rebuked and adjured by God (“who now commands you through us”) to come out and depart. At the same time, a number of apotropaic actions could be performed—prayers, fasting, imposition of a sign of the cross or holy object, etc.²⁵

Apart from Christ and his followers, the saints also had power over demons. Evidence for the powers of such holy men goes back to the time of Greek papyri and early amulets.²⁶ As a magician, King Solomon had an eminent and long-lasting reputation. Among Christian Jews, it was believed that Solomon possessed powers over evil spirits and that he could have used them in “medical” ways, such as chasing demons from the sick.²⁷ In Byzantium, those holy fathers dwelling in the provinces, and whose lives were a constant struggle with demons, were particularly endowed with healing powers as a distinctive sign of their sanctity.²⁸ They were said to have cured instantly and painlessly, quite the opposite of trained physicians.²⁹ Many appeared to sick people during sleep, prescribing the adequate treatments: Sts. Cyr and John, Cosmas and Damian, Artemius,³⁰ Nicholas,³¹

²³C. Bonner, “The Technique of Exorcism,” *HTR* 26 (1943), 39–49.

²⁴The exorcisms performed by Jesus himself, and his disciples—according to New Testament stories Matt. 8:28–34, 9:32–34, 12:24–28, 15:21–28, 17:14–20; Mark 5:23, 6:5, 7:22, 8:23; Luke 4:40, 13:13; and Acts 10:38—underpinned and maintained exorcistic beliefs and practices. The commands and demands drew heavily on biblical language, as shown in Greenfield, *Late Byzantine Demonology*, 142–43. While the Old Testament condemns magic—Exod. 7:8–13, 22:18; 1 Sam. 28; 1 Kings 18—the New Testament contains passages presenting magicians—Acts 8:9–24, Matt. 2:1–17. For a discussion on whether Christ and the apostles performed magic, cf. Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*, 33–36.

²⁵Greenfield, *Late Byzantine Demonology*, 139–47.

²⁶*DACL* 1.2:1784–860 (s.v. “amulettes”); Laurent, “Amulettes byzantines,” 300–315. See also G. Vikan, *Byzantine Pilgrimage Art* (Washington, D.C., 1982); idem, “Art, Medicine, and Magic in Early Byzantium,” *DOP* 38 (1984), 67–86; E. Dauterman Maguire, H. Maguire, and M. J. Duncan-Flowers, *Art and Holy Powers in the Early Christian House* (Urbana-Chicago, 1989), 24–28, 160–61, 201, passim.

²⁷C. C. McCown, *Testament of Solomon*, I (Leipzig, 1922), 6–7; F. C. Conybeare, “The Testament of Solomon,” *JQR* 11 (1899), 16.

²⁸R. Browing, “The ‘Low-Level’ Saint’s Life in the Early Byzantine World,” in *The Byzantine Saint*, ed. S. Hackel (London, 1981), 121–26. Cf. P. Brown, “The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity,” *JRS* 61 (1971), 86–101, reprinted in *Society and the Holy in Late Antiquity* (Los Angeles–Oxford, 1982), 103–52, esp. 122–23, 142; C. Galatariotou, *The Making of a Saint: The Life, Times and Sanctification of Neophytos the Recluse* (Cambridge, 1991), 87–93 and 126–28.

²⁹On doctors and medicine in Byzantium, O. Temkin, “Byzantine Medicine,” *DOP* 16 (1962), 97–115; J. Duffy, “Byzantine Medicine in the Sixth and Seventh Centuries,” *Symposium on Byzantine Medicine*, *DOP* 38 (1984), 21–27; T. S. Miller, “Byzantine Hospitals,” *ibid.*, 53–63; J. Stannard, “Aspects of Byzantine *Materia Medica*,” *ibid.*, 205–11. On saints as doctors, A. Kazhdan, “The Image of the Medical Doctor in Byzantine Literature of the Tenth to Twelfth Centuries,” *ibid.*, 43–51; H. Delehay, “Les recueils antiques de miracles des saints,” I, *AB* 43 (1925), 5–85. On the organization and functioning of hospitals, T. Miller, *The Birth of the Hospital in the Byzantine Empire* (Baltimore, M.D., 1985).

³⁰H. J. Magoulas, “The Image of the Saints as Sources of Data for the History of Byzantine Medicine in the Sixth and Seventh Centuries,” *BZ* 57 (1964), 127–50.

³¹G. Anrich, *Der heilige Nikolaus in der griechischen Kirche*, I (Leipzig-Berlin, 1913), 22–23, 47–52, 223, 229, 303, 324–25; II (1917), 329.

and Luke of Steiris,³² to mention but a few. In addition, angels and archangels were also considered exorcists. Demonstration of this identity is crucial to our interpretation of the epithet on the Cypriot icon of the archangel Gabriel. This notion is to be found in a number of Byzantine textual sources, but only exceptionally is it presented in pictorial representations.

A survey of the literary tradition might start with the famous early Christian book of healing and magic, the so-called *Testament of Solomon*, which remained in constant use until the late Byzantine period. One cannot overlook that it was “Michael the archangel” who brought Solomon a ring, as a gift from the Lord, thus investing the king with the “authority over demons.”³³ The archangel Michael is given here a mediating role, drawing upon his basic angelic function as messenger.

In a similar vein, evidence from the *vita* of St. Symeon the Younger (512–592) can be cited. Three times, in succession, angels appear to Symeon explaining the methods and meaning of healing. First, in a vision, Michael and Gabriel (the archangels) accompany Christ, who himself gives to Symeon the power of expelling evil spirits. Next, three angels appear to Symeon, “more in reality than in vision,” writes the author of Symeon’s *vita*, explaining that “illnesses are to be cured by the laying on of the saint’s hands” and “making a sign of the cross,” while saying “in the name of the Son of God, who is crucified for us, leave unclean spirits” (ἐξέλθατε ἀπ’ αὐτῶν, ἀκάθαρτα πνεύματα).³⁴ On the third occasion, the three angels declare that in the future such healing is to be done through Symeon’s agency. There follows a proper list of techniques of exorcism that Symeon must pursue in order to heal.³⁵ From this we can conclude that the power of exorcism was handed down from Christ through the angels to the saints. The instructions given to Symeon were part of a widespread repertoire of words and methods of medieval healing magic. In a number of saints’ *vitae* from the eleventh century, for example, there are records of the procedure for the laying on of the cross, also of the Gospels, and the use of oil, holy water, relics, etc.³⁶

While St. Symeon’s *vita* and the *Testament of Solomon* give us a generalized notion of angels as transmitters of the function of the doctor-exorcist, the idea of an angel behaving in an exorcistic manner is to be found in other hagiographical literature. One instance is in the tenth-century *vita* of St. Luke of Steiris. Luke’s rescue from sexual temptation is

³²C. L. Connor and W. R. Connor, *The Life and Miracles of Saint Luke of Steiris* (Brookline, Mass., 1994), chaps. 74–76 and 82. The healing practices performed in the crypt of Holy Luke, according to this saint’s *vita*, have been discussed by C. L. Connor, *Art and Miracles in Medieval Byzantium: The Crypt at Hosios Loukas and Its Frescoes* (Princeton, N.J., 1991), 99–101, with 95, 97, and 98 for healings of the possessed.

³³McCown, *Testament of Solomon*, I, 6–7; Conybeare, “The Testament of Solomon,” 16.

³⁴P. van den Ven, *La vie ancienne de S. Syméon Stylite le Jeune (512–592)*, SubsHag 32 (Brussels, 1962, 1970), I–II, 39–41, chaps. 40–41.

³⁵Ibid. For the shrine of this saint, see J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Itinéraires archéologiques dans la région d’Antioche: Recherches sur le monastère et sur l’iconographie de S. Syméon Stylite le Jeune*, Bibliothèque de Byzantion 40 (Brussels, 1967); W. Djbadze, *Archaeological Investigation in the Region West of Antioch on-the-Orontes* (Stuttgart, 1986), 57–115. For the objects, see Vikan, “Art, Medicine, and Magic,” 67–74.

³⁶P. Joannou, “Les croyances démonologiques au XI^e siècle à Byzance,” *CEB* 6 (Paris, 1950), I, 257. An exorcistic method is described in a late Byzantine manuscript from Mount Athos: Delatte, *Un office byzantin d’exorcisme* (as above, note 19), 138–49. On means of resisting and defeating demonic aggression, see Greenfield, *Late Byzantine Demonology*, 139–48 and 249–97.

here attributed to “an angel dressed like a young man” who dropped a hook into Luke’s mouth and drew out a “certain fleshly member” from the saint’s body.³⁷ The angel, it is important to note, is unnamed, and his drastic action is not typically exorcistic, because a conjuration by the Supreme Power and dialog with the fleshly creature (which represents, we would expect, a demonic being) are not involved.

St. Neophytos the Recluse (twelfth century) describes in one of his writings an attack by the Devil that occurred in his *encleistra* near Paphos. He thanks the Trinity, the Virgin, the cross, and the archangels Michael and Gabriel (the two flamebearers of God) for his rescue following his fall from a rock and, for protection from the “tyranny of demons,” he thanks the angel of God.³⁸ So, for Neophytos this angel possessed the ability to protect him from Satan, and, more importantly, he perceived the angel’s activity in real, physical, terms. An angel imagined in a fully active role is but a short step from the notion of the angel as doctor-exorcist. This latter notion is elaborated in texts written to celebrate the archangels Michael and Gabriel, the two main archangels. Within Byzantine angelology, only “biographies” of these archangels were individualized to the degree that pictorial art was used to illustrate their deeds, almost as if the archangels were “real” saints. Their actions, especially these of Michael, emerged out of their characterized traits and qualities, for which they were glorified in texts.

The archangel Michael has the distinct role of fighting and defeating Satan and his rebel angels. Michael’s military position among all the angels, whose chief commander he was, and the belief that illness of spirit and body could be overcome by force—as demonstrated by Michael in legends, the most famous being the one of Chonae³⁹—explains why it was that this archangel was often invoked as a powerful protector and defender, or *propugnator*.⁴⁰ The epithet “propugnator” is, in fact, a literary commonplace; however, the archangel can also be literally called an “exorcist” (*daemonum exterminator*), as is the case in the *encomium* on archangels and angels by Sophronius of Jerusalem (633/4–638), where this epithet is applied to the archangel Michael in a list of his outstanding characteristics, and on account of which he is begged to be Sophronius’ protector or *patronus*.⁴¹ The same thought was expressed in a more subtle manner by the Constantinopolitan deacon Pantaleon in his *encomium* on the archangel Michael (end of the ninth or the beginning of the tenth century). He addresses Michael as the great principal of the heavenly hosts (*magnus princeps*) and as the strongest fighter and defender. Among other tasks, his role was “to chase enemies, heal the sick and to push away the devil’s attacks” (*daemonum impetus propulsat*).⁴²

³⁷ Connor, *Saint Luke of Steiris*, chap. 29.

³⁸ I. Ch. Chatzioannou, ‘Ιστορία καὶ ἔργα Νεοφύτου Πρεσβυτέρου, Μοναχοῦ καὶ Ἐκκληαίστου (Alexandria, 1914), 140–49, esp. 147. Cf. Galatariotou, *Neophytos the Recluse*, 128.

³⁹ M. Bonnet, “Narratio de miraculo a Michaele archangelo Chonis patrato,” *AB* 8 (1889), 287–328. See also J. P. Rohland, *Der Erzengel Michael: Arzt und Feldherr; Zwei Aspekte des vor- und frühbyzantinischen Michael-skultes* (Leiden, 1977), 94, 114–17.

⁴⁰ Pantaleon diaconus, *Encomium in maximum et gloriosissimum Michaelem coelestis militiae principem*, PG 98, col. 1262D.

⁴¹ “Tunc, o sancte archisatrapa, errantium ductor, prolapsorum excitator, animorum propugnator, corporum conservator, daemonum exterminator, universaeque creaturae illustrator; tunc, obsecro te, tunc fidas causae meae patronus adesse ne gravere”: Sophronius hierosolymitanus patriarcha, *Orationes, Sanctorum Archangelorum et Angelorum coeterarumque coelestium Virtutum Encomion*, PG 87.3, col. 3318A–B.

⁴² Pantaleon, *Encomium*, PG 98, col. 1266A. Pantaleon was dated by C. Mango, “The Date of the Studios Basilica at Istanbul,” *BMGS* 7 (1978), 117–18.

In Byzantine sources, the notion of an angel's power over evil forces was also treated in a work on the miracles of the archangel Michael, said to have been composed by the famous historian and philosopher Michael Psellos (1018–78). In this *Oratio*, the archangel Michael is asked to “exile every horrible thing,” to protect the author on the day of the resurrection by “preventing the demon's assaults,” and to bring the elected to God.⁴³

Such generally formulated views on the archangel's role in protecting one from evil, valuable as they are, do not, however, invoke an image of the archangel actually expelling this evil. It is the *miracula* of the archangels that contain descriptions of the deeds of the archangels Michael and Gabriel as exorcists. In the “Ninth Miracle of the Archangel Michael,” a Coptic account dating from a period between the fourth and seven centuries, we are told that in a church in Cyprus—whose location is deduced from comparison with previous miracles—a madman is hindering the liturgy. The possessed man is addressing the archangel Michael, crying out, “It is because of you that we left heaven”—“we” obviously meaning devils or ex-angels—“and you exile us from every place on earth, too.”⁴⁴ Then Michael appears, dressed in an imperial robe and with a sceptre in his hand, seizes Satan, and throws him down in the middle of the church. Satan cries out to the archangel to let him go, promising that he will never again enter anyplace that bears Michael's “name.” Hearing this, the archangel lets Satan go. Satan exits the church, and the sick are cured.⁴⁵ From the content of this story, we see that Satan's being driven out and the healing of the madman are equivalents, and that the archangel Michael's method of healing, although without verbal commands, was that of exorcism. Michael behaves in the same manner in legends about the female demon Gilou, who is also forced to confess, as Satan has done, that she may be prevented from harming men (by means of threats or actual violence).⁴⁶

The second-ranking archangel, Gabriel—Michael's co-*archangelos*⁴⁷—also appears in the role of doctor in one of the accounts of his miracles. In his sanctuary in Rome, the archangel Gabriel appears to a sick baker in a dream, addressing him with these words: “I will heal thee so that to everyone shall be manifest the impotence of the Devil and that help of God and of His archangel which protecteth all mankind.”⁴⁸ After this, the archangel makes the sign of the cross over the baker and the man is delivered from the “snares of Satan” i.e., healed. We have here a curative action of the archangel Gabriel against the Devil, who was a cause of the baker's illness, although later in the legend it is explained that prayer is the thing that liberates. Following his verbal statement, Gabriel here uses the most powerful weapon for resisting demons, the Christian's victorious sign of Satan's defeat—the sign of the cross.⁴⁹

⁴³ *Michaelis Pseli scripta minora*, ed. E. Kurtz and F. Drexler (Milano, 1936), 141.

⁴⁴ Amélineau, *Contes et romans*, I (as above, note 1), 82–83.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 83.

⁴⁶ Cf. R. P. H. Greenfield, “Sant Sisinnios, the Archangel Michael and the Female Demon Gylou,” *Byzantina* 15 (1989), 83–141, and 105 and 110 for Michael seizing Gilou by her hair. On Gilou and other female demons, see *idem*, *Late Byzantine Demonology* (as above, note 19), 182–90. Cf. a late-fourteenth-century miniature depicting parabole on the king's wedding in S. Pelekanidis et al., *Οἱ Θεσσαυροὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὁρους*, II (Athens, 1975), 298–99, fig. 14, where an angel, after receiving Christ's command, first seizes a man by his hair and then binds him on the floor (Fig. 5). Similar unnamed angels often appear in the composition of the Anastasis, binding Satan.

⁴⁷ Pantaleon, *Encomium*, PG 98, col. 1265A.

⁴⁸ *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts in the Dialect of Upper Egypt*, ed. E. A. Wallis Budge (London, 1915), 1202–3.

⁴⁹ On the use of the sign of the cross in controlling evil forces, see Greenfield, *Late Byzantine Demonology*, 140. See also, J. Danielou, *The Bible and the Liturgy* (Notre Dame, Ind., 1961), 54–69.

The practice of calling upon saints to expel the Devil was an unofficial, but very popular method of healing. Because of this widespread use, manifested also in the baptismal rites, such practices penetrated even the *euchologion*, the important liturgical book that was frequently used in the everyday life of Christians. In a magical formula called “Against the Abra”—recorded in *euchologia* from the twelfth and fifteenth centuries—“proto-archangel” Michael, after arguing with the female demon Abra, who came to do harm to people, casts her out.⁵⁰ For our investigation, this is yet another example attesting the existence of the idea of archangels as exilers, here expressed in liturgical prayers.

Within the Christian pantheon, archangels—invoked immediately after the principal figures, Christ the Lord and the Virgin—are not, of course, the only mediators and protectors. In the writings of St. Neophytos, for instance, quite a number of saints are given credit for providing protection against demons: St. Alypios is described as a “victor over demons,” St. Sabas as a fighter “against passion and demons,” St. Nicholas is a “destroyer of demons,” while St. Mamas is the healer of “demonic wounds.”⁵¹

Another powerful and very popular representative of mankind is St. George, the patron saint of the previously mentioned churches in Famagusta and Pano Lefkara, there being named the Exiler and associated with the archangel. St. George is considered to be the Christian equivalent of Solomon the Cavalier, the most powerful figure in the magic rituals of the Greco-Roman world.⁵²

Along with four archangels—Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, and Uriel—and other saints, George’s name is used to conjure the demons, as shown in certain Greek texts.⁵³ In apocryphal tradition, St. George was occasionally confused with the archangel Michael, for this saint is also a heavenly warrior and reliable fighter against evil. They sometimes appear together: In some Coptic legends, Michael, together with St. George, overthrows Diocletian and makes Theodosius emperor.⁵⁴ In the vision of the emperor Theodosius, George is riding on a horse accompanied by the archangel Michael.⁵⁵ In another case, following God’s command, Michael reassembles and revives St. George’s broken body.⁵⁶ It is thus no surprise to find that the famous exorcist Theodore of Sykeon (d. 613) had a double church in Galatia, Asia Minor, dedicated to these two saints, George and Michael, while the co-patronage of George and Michael of the church in Pano Lefkara in Cyprus seems less confusing. Both saints were venerated as particularly strong

⁵⁰L. Arnaud, “L’exorcisme κατὰ τῆς ἀβραα attribué a saint Grégoire,” *EO* 16 (1913), 293. On a sermon against the effect of the evil spirits within, *euchologia*, see de Meester, *Rituale-Benedizionale Bizantino* (as above, note 21), 282–90, and 288–90 for the formula “against the Abra.”

⁵¹Galatariotou, *Neophytos the Recluse* (as above, note 28), 93.

⁵²E. R. Goodenough, *The Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period*, 13 vols. (New York, 1953–63, 1968), II, 231–32.

⁵³Greenfield, *Late Byzantine Demonology*, 273 and 274. For Michael and Gabriel’s names on amulets, see E. A. W. Budge, *Amulets and Superstitions* (Oxford, 1930), 10, 11, 43, 180, 277, passim; Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols*, II, 211, 222, 224, 227, 229, 232, passim; Kotansky, *Greek Magical Amulets* (as above, note 19), nos. 26, 33, 38, 48, 52 and 57; and Rohland, *Der Erzengel Michael* (as above, note 39), 75–80.

⁵⁴E. A. W. Budge, *George of Lydda* (London, 1930), 149 and 267, and 35–36 on confusion between George and Michael.

⁵⁵*Ibid.*, 272. Amélineau, *Contes et romans* (as above, note 1), II, 163.

⁵⁶Amélineau, *Contes et romans*, II, 182.

protectors from evil, and, in Byzantine art, both were not only given a soldier's guise but were also pictured as mounted warriors.⁵⁷

The church of the Archangel in Galatia was an addition to the oratory of St. George and was constantly open, day and night, so that those who came for healing, exorcism, or prayer could wait there;⁵⁸ the church was an asylum for the sick and a place of numerous cures. The *vita* of Theodore of Sykeon narrates how a cleric, Solomon, who was troubled by evil spirits, slept in the side chapel of the church of the Archangel, and that he later presented an image there as a token of his recovery.⁵⁹ This text is full of instances of healing exorcisms that Theodore performed in Sykeon and elsewhere. Often he exercised his powers in the church of the Archangel in Germia, famous from literary sources on the archangels.⁶⁰ Theodore cured there a great number of individuals—men, women and children⁶¹—as well as groups of people by means of processions.⁶² Mass healings were preceded by overnight prayers, while for a single person it was enough to invoke the Holy Protectors—God, the Virgin, the Holy Archangel, and St. George⁶³—then to make a sign of the cross and to command the demon to leave. Although sometimes hesitant, the Devil would eventually depart. A physical act was occasionally necessary. Once or twice, Theodore beat upon a possessed man's chest,⁶⁴ and he had to strongly shake and pull the hair of two women.⁶⁵ Earlier we saw that the archangel Michael acted in a

⁵⁷Iconographically, images of riders always have more potent connotations. Those of the archangel are rarer than those of St. George. The earliest known example of an angel on a horse was found in Arilje (1296) within the composition of the Nativity: M. Garidis, "L'ange à cheval dans l'art byzantin," *Byzantion* 42.1 (1972), 37. There is an interesting fresco of the archangel Michael riding a horse in the narthex of Lesnovo (1349), above the entrance to the naos, distinguished also by the red color of the archangel's figure. In all likelihood, it reflects a Constantinopolitan tradition and is based on literary passages from accounts of this archangel's appearances. See S. Gabelić, "Crveni konjanički lik arhandjela Mihaila u Lesnovu," *Zograf* 8 (1977), 55–58, fig. 1. The equestrian presentation of the archangel Michael was popular in the fourteenth–fifteenth-century wallpaintings of Crete. The archangel-rider is either in a row of saints in the first zone of the wall decoration, next to other warrior-saints also represented on horses, or within certain compositions from the Cycle of the Archangels (Assembly of the Archangels [in Prines]) and the Fall of Jericho [in Kouneni, Sarakina, Arkalochori, and Prines]). See eadem, *Ciklus Arhandjela u vizantijskoj umetnosti* (Belgrade, 1991), 56, 79, 80–81, ill. 38 and 42–44, and fig. 32.

⁵⁸E. J. Festugière, *Vie de Théodore de Sykéon* (Brussels, 1970), 39 (chap. 40), *passim*. See also E. Dawes and N. H. Baynes, *Three Byzantine Saints* (Oxford, 1948), 117 (chap. 40). On the monastic complex in Sykeon, see V. Ruggieri, *Byzantine Religious Architecture (582–867): Its History and Structural Elements* (Rome, 1991), 242–49.

⁵⁹Festugière, *Vie de Théodore de Sykéon*, chap. 103. The reasons for putting the new icon (of the archangel) over an existing fresco—which led to an increase in the icon's shape and size, as discussed above—may possibly be analogous to the story of Solomon's healing.

⁶⁰*Ibid.*, chaps. 71 and 161, *passim*. About the sanctuary at Germia (Germion), see C. Mango, "The Pilgrim-age Centre of St. Michael at Germia," *JÖB* 36 (1986), 117–32; *idem*, "St. Michael and Attis," *Δελτ.Χριστ.Ἀρχ.Ἐτ.* 4.12 (1986), 49–52. According to S. Koukariis, *Τα θάυματα ἐμφανίσεις τῶν Ἀγγέλων καὶ Ἀρχαγγέλων σὴν Βυζαντινὴ τέχνη τῶν Βαλκανίων* (Athens-Giannina, 1989), 72, 173–74, fig. on p. 212, where the fresco of the Cycle of the Archangels in Lesnovo, featuring the healing of seven lepers, should be identified as the Healing of Consul Studius at Germia. We contest such an identification. The miracle "with small fishes" associated with Germia was perhaps illustrated in the church of the Archangel Michael at Sachnoe near Trebizond. A lake with fish is presented in one of the scenes on the east facade. See Gabelić, *Ciklus Arhandjela*, 46, ill. 10 (no. 15).

⁶¹Festugière, *Vie de Théodore de Sykéon*, chaps. 35, 45, 60, 71, 84, 86, 88, 91, 103, 123, 132, and 138.

⁶²*Ibid.*, chaps. 43, 44, 114, 115, 116, and 161.

⁶³*Ibid.*, chap. 161 (pp. 43 and 132).

⁶⁴*Ibid.*, chaps. 43 and 132.

⁶⁵*Ibid.*, chaps. 43 and 71.

very similar, rough manner in his “Ninth Miracle,” driving Satan out of a possessed man whom he had cast down on the floor of the church.

It should be stressed, however, that not all Byzantine saints had contact with devils through the act of casting them out; devils did not even appear to a number of them. This conclusion was reached by Perikles Joannou on the basis of more than two hundred *vitae* dating from the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries.⁶⁶ Generally speaking, in Byzantium the notion of the devil was rather imprecise.⁶⁷ On various aspects, such as the nature of the devils and their hierarchy, differences and ambiguities arose, ranging from apocryphal and even extreme dualistic positions to moderate and official ones. The main point of difference was the degree of a devil’s independence from or of his subordination to God. Naturally, Orthodox thought could not permit Satan’s full autonomy, nor its manifestations in the world as such. The church tried to bind and confine the power of demons, though not systematically. The existence of devils and their malicious activities were thus inevitably tolerated. In certain areas, just as in exorcism, Orthodox and alternative positions expressed very similar beliefs and, as Greenfield stresses, employed almost identical practices and devices.

Due to the general concept of diabolism in Byzantine theology—which was inconsistently understood and applied—in pictorial art, the presence of devils is perhaps rarer than in literature. Satan gained his most prominent iconographical role within the compositions of the Temptation of Christ, of Christ Healing the Possessed, of the Last Judgment, and the Fall of Satan. Rarely independent, the Fall of Satan was usually attached to the archangels’ “history” and was thus illustrated in the iconographical cycle dedicated to the archangels. However, even within this unit this scene does not belong among the popular scenes. Of seventy-four preserved Cycles of the Archangels, from the eleventh to the eighteenth centuries, the Fall of Satan is included only in eight of them. The composition features the triumph of the archangel Michael and angels over Satan and the fallen angels, sometimes with elements of the struggle between the angels or, when it is somewhat dualistically conceived, with the motif of taking power from Satan (symbolized by Satan’s crown). Most commonly, the Byzantine Devil is a dark anthropomorphic male figure with demonic characteristics, such as claws or a tail.⁶⁸

As for illustrations of the possessed, it is hardly possible to find them if Christ’s healing miracles are excluded. Byzantine monumental art, as the Orthodox belief itself, did not favor this theme. Its appearance seems to be restricted to narrative cycles, where it is illustrated as one among other compositions. The fresco of St. Euthymios healing the

⁶⁶Joannou, “Les croyances démonologiques” (as above, note 36), 258.

⁶⁷For the Old Testament understanding of Satan (where he is not considered a being), for the New Testament concept (where he bears different names and is identified with the Old Testament snake), and for the notion of Satan in the church fathers’ writings and in the literature on monks and ascetics, see *DSP* 3:141–250 (s.v. “demon”). For portraits of the Devil within early Byzantine hagiography and their historical background, see C. Mango, “Diabolus Byzantinus,” *DOP* 46 (1992), 215–21. On beliefs about demons that were current in the late Byzantine era, demonstrating their complexity and their importance in the overall beliefs of the Byzantines, see Greenfield, *Late Byzantine Demonology* (as above, note 19).

⁶⁸S. Gabelić, “Composition of the Fall of Satan in Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Art,” *Zograf* 23 (forthcoming). On the Devil with angelic or human characteristics and animal and mixed characteristics in the art of Orthodox countries (based mostly on rather late material), see Th. M. Provatakis, *Ὁ Διάβολος εἰς τὴν βυζαντινὴν τέχνην* (Thessaloniki, 1980).

demoniac is such an example (Fig. 6). It is illustrated within the narrative cycle of this saint in the parecclesion of St. Euthymios in Thessaloniki (1303). Euthymios is shown blessing the young man who stands in front of him, with his arms and legs chained, and held by two men.⁶⁹ Further examples are illustrations from hagiographical cycles of St. Cyril of Alexandria, St. Eustratios (Fig. 7),⁷⁰ and St. Nicholas.

The rarity of illustrations of the possessed can be demonstrated in the cycle dedicated to Nicholas, which is certainly one of the most popular and frequently illustrated saint's lives in Byzantine art. Only six out of fifty-six examples contain the composition of Nicholas healing the demoniac. There are compositions of this cycle (preserved from the end of the twelfth to the end of the fifteenth century.) As Nancy Ševčenko points out, the iconography of the scene is based on Christ's healing miracles. On one side of the composition, the saint is standing and raising his right hand in the gesture of blessing, while on the opposite side a nude or half-nude figure of the possessed man is shown, usually standing and with his hands chained behind his back. A black winged spirit may issue from the possessed man's mouth—as in the late-thirteenth-century painting in the church of Nicholas in Agoriane, for example (Fig. 8)—or be shown running away, as in the church of Sts. Constantine and Helena, formerly St. Nicholas, in Ramača, from ca. 1392.⁷¹

Within the iconography of the archangels, which is both rich in variety and rather well documented, there is only one extraordinary representation of an archangel as exorcist (Fig. 9). This composition differs from the usual iconography of the saint's healing miracles, for the madman is shown lying down. Still, its main action is again divided into two sides: the practitioner, the exiler, on the left, and the possessed figure on the right. It is a fresco from the church dedicated to the archangel Michael in the monastery of Lesnovo, painted ca. 1346 in the naos, which features an archangel's healing of the possessed monk Michael, i.e., the archangel expelling the demon (*i ishcheze ot nego demon*). From the inscription we learn the name of the possessed, and also that the event takes place while the monk sleeps in a cave (*prished k peshtere i vzleg spashe*). The cave is on a shore, and a three-aisled church, certainly the archangel's, is in the background. The setting of this unidentified archangel's shrine by the water suggests that the literary inspiration for such a composition might have originated in Constantinople or Asia Minor, where the cult of the archangels was closely connected with water.

In Lesnovo, we see a vision of a certain monk Michael, who is visited during his therapeutic dream by the shrine's holy doctor, the archangel. It is an illustration of the

⁶⁹T. Gouma-Peterson, "The Parecclesion of St. Euthymios in Thessalonica: Art and Monastic Policy under Andronikos II," *ArtB* 58.2 (1976), 177, fig. 14. On Christ's healing miracles, see S. Tomeković, "Maladie et guérison dans la peinture murale byzantine du XII^e siècle," in *Maladie et société à Byzance*, ed. E. Patlagean (Spoleto, 1993), 103–18.

⁷⁰N. V. Blinderova, "Žitie Kirila i Afanasija Aleksandrijskih v rospisjah kirilovskoj cerkvi Kieva," *Drevne' russkoe iskusstvo* (Moscow, 1980), 53 and 54. K. Weitzmann, "Lives of the Five Martyrs of Sebaste," *DOP* 33 (1979), 108, fig. 30.

⁷¹M. Emmanuel, "Οἱ τοιχογραφίες τοῦ Ἁγίου Νικολάου στήν Ἀγόριανη Λακωνίας," *Δελτ.Χριστ.Ἀρχ.Ἑτ.* 14 (1989), 126, fig. 34; N. P. Ševčenko, *The Life of Saint Nicholas in Byzantine Art* (Turin, 1983), 150, pls. 18.5, 40.7, 41.12, and 44; B. Knežević, "Crkva u selu Ramači," *ZbLkUmet* 4 (1968), 147–48, fig. 2/G. For some representations of magicians and scenes of exorcism—a Coptic miniature from the twelfth or thirteenth century and a nineteenth-century Greek icon—see Provatakis, *Ὁ Διάβολος*, 107–11 and 150–51, figs. 92–99 and 121–22.

incubation (sleep in the temple) par excellence. The archangel (Michael?) is depicted immediately outside the cave blessing with his right hand, while carrying a staff in the other. He is attired in antique robes. The monk, dressed in the *mega schema* habit, lies on his back inside the cave. He is lifting one hand toward the archangel. A small, black, naked, and winged devil with a tail comes out of monk Michael's mouth. The devil looks toward the archangel, lifting both hands in his direction, while one of his legs remains in the monk's mouth. The monk Michael has his eyes open, which calls to mind passages in Theodore of Sykeon's *vita* in which it is specifically mentioned that during the exorcistic rite the possessed shall see, with their own eyes, how the devil emerges out of their mouths.⁷² Quite similarly, in one of the healing miracles ascribed to St. Luke of Steiris in his *vita*, after drawing the demon out of the patient's open mouth, Luke significantly asks, "Do you see your enemy?" and immediately declares, "Now you are released from the one who tyrannizes you."⁷³ The Lesnovo artist possibly expressed this detail realistically, being aware of the fact that to see the departed demon is the finale of an exorcistic process and a mark or proof of its fulfillment. The other monk represented in the fresco at Lesnovo may perhaps be the same monk Michael, painted for the second time, but his identity is still uncertain, since the textual source for this composition is unfortunately not known.⁷⁴

The vision of the monk Michael in Lesnovo has no preserved medieval analogies. A later copy of this fresco has survived as one of the scenes on an icon of Christ with the archangels Michael and Gabriel and the Cycle of the Archangels, which was painted in 1626, most probably in the Lesnovo monastery. Its painter changed only the appearance of the second monk, presenting him as a bust. All other details, including the small figure of the devil, correspond to the fresco from Lesnovo.⁷⁵

Unique representations of angels and defeated demons survive on the capitals of the church of Markov manastir near Skopje (1376). Next to fourteen flying angels, whose hands are upraised, two demons with monkeylike bodies are shown. (Figs. 10 and 11) One demon is on a leash held by an angel. In accordance with the apocryphal commentary of the liturgy attributed to St. Gregory the Theologian, angels are here depicted lifting the roof of the church, so that during the service prayers can reach heaven. Previously, as the same text describes, a demon tried to obstruct the liturgy, preventing the people from participating, and was expelled by the angel. Hence in Markov manastir demons are deliberately painted on the capitals of the east columns that are in the sanctuary of the church.⁷⁶

⁷²Festugière, *Vie de Théodore de Sykéôn*, chaps. 84 and 86.

⁷³Connor, *Hosios Loukas* (as above, note 32), 137.

⁷⁴On the fresco of the archangel healing the mad monk Michael, which belongs to the Cycle of the Archangels, cf. L. Mirković, "Nejasne freske iz ciklusa Čuda sv. arhandjela Mihaila u Lesnovu," reprinted in idem, *Ikonografske studije* (Novi Sad, 1974), 22, fig. 89; Koukariis, Τα θάυματα εμφανίσεις, 44, 176, figure on p. 43; and Gabelić, *Ciklus Arhandjela*, 117, ill. 65, fig. 44.

⁷⁵Gabelić, "The Fall of Satan," fig. 10. Cf. S. Radojčić, *Starine Crkvenog muzeja u Skoplju* (Skopje, 1941), 73, and K. Balabanov, *Ikone iz Makedonije*, a catalogue (Zagreb, 1987), 78 (45).

⁷⁶L. Mirković, "Andjeli i demoni na kapitelima Markova manastira kod Skoplja," in *Ikonografske studije* (as above, note 74), 253–61, figs. 64–67 (with a seventeenth-century text on the liturgy attributed to Gregory the Theologian, pp. 259–61). Cf. reproductions in T. Velmans, *La peinture du Moyen Age en Yougoslavie*, IV (Paris, 1969), pls. 95–96; The masks painted on the edges of these capitals are identified as symbolic representations of the ocean by I. M. Djordjević, "Zagonetni lik na kapitelima u Novoj Pavlici," *Raška baština* 2

We already have encountered the motif of Satan's disruption of the service and his ejection by an archangel-exorcist in the Coptic "Ninth Miracle of the Archangel Michael." This episode, whose, perhaps, cautious form is illustrated in Markov manastir, received its detailed artistic expression at a much later date. Nikolai Pokrovskij describes how, in the altar space of the church of John the Baptist in Jaroslav (second half of the seventeenth century), as part of the composition representing St. Gregory the Theologian's commentary on the liturgy, an angel is painted as defeating Satan, who stands behind the crowd attending the service.⁷⁷ In Markov manastir it is only angels and demons that are presented, chosen in order to stress an apocryphal role of the angels during the liturgical service. The same exorcistic episode—set during the liturgy, showing an angel arguing with the devil, who stands in the doorway—is to be found in a Greek manuscript from 1600 housed at the Vatican Library (no. 2137, fol. 7r). According to a new investigation, it originates from Crete.⁷⁸ The miniature also shows the officiating priest, a deacon, a *hegoumenos*, and, among some other details, the open roof of the sanctuary (Fig. 12).

Both images from Lesnovo (the fresco from ca. 1346 and the icon from 1626), the painted capitals in Markov manastir (1376), the miniature from the Greek manuscript (1600), the composition from the church in Jaroslav (seventeenth century), and, in terms of its epithet, the icon of the archangel Gabriel Xorinos from Cyprus, testify to the belief in the archangels as healer-exorcists, which is a comparatively rare and little-known role for the archangels. Although chronologically late and rare, it belongs to a distinct aspect of the cult of the archangels as miraculous healers, which did not assume major importance within Byzantine angelology.

Michael, foremost, and in certain regions Gabriel, also, in the early stages of their cult enjoyed considerable reputations as healer-physicians, along with their other tasks. Michael's curative role is most clearly reflected in the veneration of this archangel as a protector of public hospitals, *michaelions*, attested in the fifth and sixth centuries. In addition to a church, such sanctuaries had a bath and a hospital or shelter for the sick and poor. The custom of spending the night in a shrine in the hope of a cure, an instance of which we see represented in Lesnovo, was a popular method of faith healing practiced there. As the medical cult associated with the archangel Michael, and incubation in particular, was strongly reminiscent of pagan deities, the church fathers neglected it. Not one affirmative commentary on the healing function of the archangels written by an early Christian theologian is known.⁷⁹ Preventing any infringement upon the idea of Christ as the main *thaumatourgos*, early condemnations of the angels' cult—with the archangel Mi-

(1980) (Kraljevo), 121, *passim*. See also S. Djurić, "Ateni and the River of Paradise in Byzantine Art," *Zograf* 20 (1989), 28, figs. 11 and 12.

⁷⁷N. Pokrovskij, *Evangelie v' pamiatnikah' ikonografii* (St. Petersburg, 1892), 288.

⁷⁸A. Mai, *Nova patrum bibliotheca* (Rome, 1853), fig. v. Cf. PG 99, cols. 1689–92. The same miniature is reproduced in Mirković, "Andjeli i demoni," fig. 68. P. L. Vokotopoulos, "Οἱ μικρογραφίες ἐνός κρητικῶν χειρογράφου τοῦ 1600," *Δελτ.Χριστ.Ἀρχ.* Et. 13 (1988), 197, fig. 6.

⁷⁹On the appearance and development of the early cult of the archangel Michael as healer, see Rohland, *Der Erzengel Michael* (as above, note 39), 75–104, *passim*, and 99–100 on the archangel Michael as protector of hospitals. A number of *michaelions* were founded or rebuilt by the emperor Justinian I (*ibid.*, 87–89 and 99–103). For a *michaelion* in Syria, see P. Canivet, "Le Michaelion de Hūarte" (V^e siècle) et le culte syrien des anges," *Byzantion* 50 (1980), 85–117.

chael not specifically mentioned but understood—occur in Colossians 2:18, which is commented on by Theodore of Cyprus, as well as in canon 35 of the famous Synod of Laodicea.⁸⁰ Never fully recognized, expressed in only a handful of writings, and extremely rare in art, the veneration of the archangels, together with its exorcistic aspects, did, however, exist until late medieval times.

University of Belgrade

⁸⁰Cf. Rohland, *Der Erzengel Michael*, 65–76, esp. 70–71. Theodoret, Cyrensis episcopus, *Interpretatio Epistolae ad Colossenses*, PG 82, col. 613. On the persistence of the cult of the archangels, cf. Canivet, “Le Michaelion de Hüarte,” 100–103, and Mango, “St. Michael and Attis” (as above, note 60), 53–54.